

Three Iranian Words in Yeghishé

H.W. BAILEY

Queens' College, Cambridge

The history of Vardan by Yeghishé (5th century) contains the well-known passage describing the Magupati, mogpat, the Magian chief Denšapouh. This passage has six Iranian words: *hamak-den*, *boz-payit*, *anpartk'aš*, *pahlavik*, *parskaden* and *petmog*. The Armenian manuscripts have some marginal glosses. For *hamak-den* the two glosses are approximate: *boloric' ousouc'ič'* 'teacher of all' and *amena-hawat* 'possessing the whole faith'. The two words *pahlavik* and *parskaden* are recognized as the Parthian and the Persian (*pārsīk*) faith (or scriptures). The three others are less clearly defined.

I. *boz-payit*, later *bozpait*, is glossed in the margin by *melac' k'awaran* 'place of expiation of sins' which has been supposed to mean Iranian *baza-*, *bazda-* 'evil' and *patiti-* 'approach, admission'. But *boz* is not so certainly *baz* 'evil'. There is a more significant word *boz-*, here and in the Caucasian Veinax Čečen and Inguš *boz-* (in older spelling *buoz-*). This *boz* is in the compound Čečen *boz-buunča* 'sorcerer', abstract *boz-buunčalla*, Inguš *buozbuyčā*, *bozbuačal*. This is *boz* 'sacrality, sorcery' with the Iranian base *bau-* 'to speak' with suffix *bavana-* passed to *buun-* and *bun-* (the base familiar in Khotan-Saka *būtā* 'speaks' and *būñā-* 'speech', Armenian *hambau* 'news', Georgian *ambav-i* 'tale', the form in *-au-* beside *bā-* as in Pokorny 105). The *-ča* is the professional suffix Iranian *-čī* from older *-čīk*.

The problem touches the Iranian *magu-* (Yasna 53.7), *moyu-* (Yasna 65.7) and *maga-* with the many later forms. This *magu-* is the

title of the major sacral personage. In the Avesta at Yasna 53.7 *magu-* is a title of Zoroaster himself, in the manuscript K 5 of November A.D. 1323 (the second oldest text). The *moyu-* is cited only once to name the enemies of the *magu-*. But the guardians of the Avesta proudly claim to be *mayūk-mart*, *moy-mart* 'Magian men'. Sasanian Persian *mgw* is a title of a high ecclesiastic. The Greeks of the 4th century B.C. knew the *μαγεία* as the *θεῶν θεράρεια* 'service of gods'. The *μάγοι* of the New Testament Mat 2.1 are the wise men of the East. But in the New Testament Acts 8.9; 11, the word is degraded when Simon is active *μαγεύων* with his *μαγίαις*.

Beside the word *mag-* a word *bag-* with suffixes exists in both the same senses. Old Persian *baga-* renders the Semitic *ilu* of divinity. Kušān Iranian has *bakana-pati-*, *vakana-pati-* for Kušān Sanskrit *devakulika-* 'guardian priest of a shrine'. Bud.Sogd. *βγν-ptw*, *βγνpt'nčh* is in a bad sense 'sorcerer', Chinese *ši-mu* (Sūtra CE 255). Armenian has *bagin* 'altar' (from **baganya-*). An endangered singularity, *bg* in the Greater *Bun-dahišn* 207.12, DH 88.12 is discarded in TD 1, 178.1), in the phrase *yātūkīh bay vēš* 'wizardry, sorcery, most'. Here *bay* is in the bad sense.

A northern offshoot from *bogu* may be Uighur Turkish *bögü* (*bügü*) 'magician', *bögülüg* 'magic', with Mongol *böge* 'wise man, shaman'.

In Armenian *mog*, *mogpet*, *movpet* is from *magu-*. Georgian has two words *mog-v-i* and *mbogvman* (ergative) in a context of sorcery (*misan-i* in *misnoba*, and *grdzneba*). The *m-* of *mbogv-i* is that in the loan-words *mgosan-i*, *mdivan-i*, and *mc'ignobar-i*, *mc'ignovel-i*). I.A. Lolashvili's reading *šp'ot'* is out of place.

In Čečen *mozγar*, plural *mozγarš*, translates Greek *τερεύς* in the modern *Jahjan indžil*. The Russian translation is *svjaščennik* 'sacral man'. The second component *-γar* at once attracts attention as the later form of the Iranian *-kara-* 'doer, maker', found in Turfan Parthian *m'rygr'n* **mārēgarān* 'manθra-charmers', preserved as *mar-garē* 'prophet' in Armenian with (*-ē* < *-aka-*). The fuller form is in Sogd. *m'rkr'k* **māarakarak*. In Čečen *moz-γar* the analysis is **moza-kara-* or **mozu-kara*, where *moz-* means priestly craft. The *moz-* has the *-z-* of the palatalized *ǵ* of base *maǵ-* beside *mag-* (a fairly frequent variant in bases). The *mo-p-* of *moz-* may be a replacement of *ma-* or due to the suffix *-u-* of *maǵu-*.

This *moz-* can now be placed beside *boz-* of *boz-payit*. It should be noted that variation of initial *m-* and *b-* is well attested. As in Zor-Pahl. *mang*, *bang* 'hemp', Old Indian *bhangā-*; *mag-*, *bag-* 'to intoxicate', *mast-*, *bast-* 'compact'. The two bases *mag-* and *bag-* could be

two forms of the one base. If *mag-* is traced to an Indo-Iranian *magh-* the *bag-* will not be the *bhag-* of *bag-*, *baxt* 'to distribute', but a form of *bagh-* or *bhagh-*. Pokorny 107 placed *baga-* under *bhag-*.

The second component *payit* should mean 'text, book', in a context of sacral literature. This is valuable support for the Iranian unincremented base *pai-*: *pi-* 'to write', in ZorPahl. *nipēk* '(hand-) writing' in *dast-nipēk*, and 'book' from **pai-ka-*, formed like Avestan *saoka-* 'profit' from *sau-*, the two earlier etyma, Bartholomae's **ni-pēhaka-* and that of Henning *dipi-*, being clearly unacceptable. The base Indo-European *pei-*: *pī-* 'to pierce, make marks, form, adorn, write' gave the word for the bitter vegetable onion in Yazgulāmī *piyēg*, New Pers. *piyāz* (DKS 250 *pau*). With laryngal increment, *pei-ə*:*piə-* gave *pī* which with the second increment *-r-* gave Khotan-Saka *pīr-*: *pīḍa-* 'to write' (DKS 238). With the increment *-k-*, *pei-k-* gave Greek *πικρός* 'bitter', and Iranian *pēs-*: *pis=* 'to adorn', in ZorPahl. *pēsīt*, and 'to write' in Slavonic *pisat'* and with *ni-* in Old Pers. *pēs-*: *pis-*, ZorPahl. *ni-pēs-* and New Pers. *nivēs-*, *navīs-*. An epic form in Old Indian is *śayita-* from *śay-*, *śe-*, *śī-* 'lie down'. Of *boz-payit* the meaning will then be 'book of priestcraft' in a good sense.

II. *anpartk'aš*, *ambartk'aš*, *partk'aš* has two Armenian marginal glosses - *jaha-kraun* and *lousamit*. The Iranian base *jah-* is used of a gushing fountain in Khotan-Saka *jahā-* 'fountain', ZorPahl. *jah-*, *jas-tan* 'to gush out, rush out, move fast'. Armenian *jah*, *-ic'* is a 'torch' or 'bright light', the torch named from a flame bursting out. The Iranian (s)*par-* is 'burst out, gush out, expand'. It is in Khotan-Saka *phar-* in *usphīr*, later *asphīr-* of water splashing out' (DKS 43-4), and *vašper-* (DKS 380). With increment Khotan-Saka has *pruha* 'dew', Avestan *paršuya-*, ZorPahl. *katasīk* and New Pers. *par-š-* in *pāšīdan*. Osetic Dig. *purxä*, Iron *pyrx* 'broken out, broken apart, splashed' (with suffix like Dig. *xurxä*, Iron *xūrx* 'sour whey'). Pokornoy 883-5 (s)p(h)er- is largely represented.

A large number of other forms are cited under *Yidya pərṣ* by G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 240.

For *k'aš* one must find an explanation keeping *-a-*. It cannot just be replaced by *k'ēš* 'teaching', even the initial *k'-* is here unsuitable. In the immediate context the writer has *kešt-k'* with variant *kēš-k'* with *k-* not *k'-*.

An Iranian *kaš-* or *kāš-* can be traced in *kāš-*, *čāš-* 'to teach'. But there is also *kar-* 'to draw lines, regulate' familiar in ZorPahl. *nikārak* 'design', New Pers. *nigār*, and with the increment *kar-š-*, which passed to *kahš-* and *kašš-* and *kaš-*. This change can be seen also in the

word for 'fire': Avestan *ātarš*, ZorPahl. *ātahš*, New Pers. *ātaš* and Armenian *at'aš*.

Thus *karša-* 'regulating' would give *k'aš*. With another meaning, *karša-* 'the line' was specialized as 'furrow'.

Two Armenian words need now to be adduced: *hpart* 'high-spirited, proud' and *ambertavan* in the same meanings. In *anpart-* form (s)par- 'to burst out' a laudatory word has been made as epithet to *karša-*, *k'aš* 'regulations' such as 'high' simply or 'raised in high regard'. This preference rejects a mistaken *jaha-* as 'torch', and Benveniste's *part* 'penalties' (Sogd. "prtk) in Yišatakaran, 1927.78, and also the *hampārtak* of A. Christensen, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, ed. 3, 122, with New Pers. *anbārdah* 'filled, complete'. Both these proposed to replace *k'aš* by *k'ēš*.

III. *petmog* is a sixth book set separated from the *hing kešt-k'* 'five doctrines'. Its contents are not stated. The word is ambiguous both in its *pet-* and its *mog*.

If *pet-* is read, it can be compared with *pet* from *pati-* 'lord', frequent as a second component. But *pati-* preverb and noun prefix is regularly retained as *pat-*. If *pēt* is read (assuming a retained *-e-* in a foreign word) it could be interpreted as *paita-* or *paiti-* or *paitu-* from a base *pai-*: *pi-*. But there are various bases *pai-* as *pai-* 'swell', *pāi-* 'drink', *pai-* 'feed', *pai-* 'injure', *pai-* 'pierce, mark'. Possibly *paita-* as 'writing, scripture' could be used. But none gives a good rendering here.

There is another source of a base *pai-* from a base with quadruple initials. Thus (s)p(h)- results in *sph*, *sp-*, *ph-* and *p-*. Pokorny 983 has (s)p(h)ei- 'to prosper' with variant forms. From that *paiti-s* would mean 'making prosper' as first component. For this quadruple prefix a good case can be seen on Khotan-Saka *phāna-* (DKS 261) and *phvai* (DKS 264), and for *sth-* on *thākā-* (DKS 149). The governing compound formed by *-ti-* is in the Rīgveda and frequent in Greek. Thus *dāti-vāra-* 'giving treasure' and βωτιάειρα 'feeding men' (of a place-name Φθα and the earth χθών).

The second component *mog* is also ambiguous. It may represent the older *magu-* agent 'sacral person' or *maga-* 'the gift of the magu-', equated with the *mižda-* 'reward in battle', or it may be for ZorPahl. *mayih* 'Magianism', glossed as *vēhīh* 'goodness'.

The whole compound gets the good meaning: the book assuring the prosperity of the *dēn* (the faith or scriptures). The *parōn mayih* or *parōntom mayih* is glossed by *apēčak vēhīh* 'outstanding goodness'.

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